ERIC P. NEWMAN NUMISMATIC EDUCATION SOCIETY

6450 Cecil Avenue, St. Louis 5, Missouri

October 31, 1973

Dr. Theodore V. Buttrey, Jr.
1256 Ferdon Road
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104

Dear Ted:

I read with great interest your article on the Tubac ingot. It is an extremely convincing presentation. You asked me to comment and, if you will forgive me for many technical changes, I believe you will find many of the changes clarifying. I hope they will be helpful.

The most extensive change is the addition of matters concerning the U. S. Assay office. Since you mention these, I thought it would be well to mention the hearings which related to the U. S. Assay coin. I will give you the citations for the hearings, etc., if this appeals to you. I think it will be helpful to smoke out the p.h.g.

Sincerely,

Eric P. Newman

EPN:jah

Encl.

A NON-PROFIT CORPORATION FOR EDUCATION
THROUGH RESEARCH AND EXHIBITION
OF COINS, CURRENCY AND HISTORIC OBJECTS

FOR INTRA-UNIVERSITY CORRESPONDENCE

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

November 12, 1973

Dear Eric,

Thanks v. much for your comments on the Tubac paper. I've incorporated a good many of them into the text. On reflection I did not, however, include the paragraph on the US pieces in the Encycl. Brit. It is based in part on the final publication of the essay; currently I've been thinking of some Arizona historical journal of the like, where your point would deflect the impetus of the article, namely showing that the Tubac thing should be excluded from considerations of Southwestern history. I would think rather your paragraph belongs in a study of such US inputs, which you ought to write up as soon as you can.

Mrs. Norweb tells me she got a call from Ford, apparently in collecting allies for his side -- prior to suing me?? -- but she gave him the brush-off. Perhaps it's time to bring in the reserves: Truman or Phoney and Francisco bars.

Sorry not to have seen you at the meeting of Council on Friday. I'll enclose the lawyers' letter which I was going to give you then. It seems fairly important on the face of it; I expect further developments with a great deal of interest.

Best to you both,

Ted

D R A F T

THE TUBAC INGOT

T. V. Buttrey

The earliest numismatic item which has been published as emanating from what is now the southwestern United States is the Tubac ingot, dated 1707. Whether the piece is unique, I do not know. It, or one example of it, was first published as one of the illustrations to the article "Numismatics" in the Encyclopaedia Britannica vol. 16 on the revision of the plates in 1965, and is currently to be found on plate VI, no. 2. Its types and legends are as follows:

obverse Jerusalem cross, the four quarters occupied by castle - V - K - castle. Border of dots.

reverse Latin cross / TUBAC / 1707 -- the whole within indented oval.

Diameter, 43 mm. Circular.

From the illustration the piece appears to be cast; but that is not certain; and it is unclear whether any letter or device lies beside the cross of the reverse. The caption reads, "Gold coin-ingot issued by the Jesuits in 1707 at their Tubac mission in Arizona." Both photograph and caption were provided "by coutesy of Ford Numismatic Publications."

No one has hitherto attempted an explanation of the piece and an evaluation of its importance. The encyclopaedia caption is largely inaccurate. There was no mission at Tubac in 1707; even later in the century it was a visita, a place of calling, for the priests of the mission of Guevavi to the southeast.[1] "Coin-ingot" is not meaningful: the piece carries no mark of weight, fineness or

denomination, and it hardly appears the kind of object to have been carefully calibrated. If the illustration is to scale the piece is larger than any gold coin ever struck in Mexico. As to "issued by the Jesuits in 1707 ... at Tubac," see below.

To begin it might be noted that the ingot, a piece of exceeding rarity and large historical interest, was published for the first (and I believe the only) time buried in the plates of an encyclopaedia article, where, moreover, it is not even mentioned in the text. That can pass as a curiosity, but it is only the first connected with this piece. As to the types, it is convenient to begin with the reverse. The locus of production is given as Tubac, easily identifiable as the Pima Indian village in Nueva Viscaya, later Sonora, fortified in 1752 by a Spanish garrison. The area passed to the United States by the Gadsden Purchase of 1854, becoming first part of the Territory of New Mexico, finally of Arizona. Tubac stood (and still stands) on the west bank of the Santa Cruz River, approximately forty-five miles south of Tucson, twenty miles north of Nogales and the international boundary. The area is today an Arizona state park. The reverse of the ingot also bears the date 1707, some forty-five years before the establishment of the Spanish garrison, and a cross, specifically the Latin cross with a tall staff and a short, high cross-bar. The form is important since the Latin cross has a particularly ecclesiastical flavor, unlike (for example) the decorative Jerusalem or Maltese cross.

The obverse type is the equilateral Jerusalem cross, a symbol which has no immediate Christological significance, but which had appeared with lobed ends on silver coins of Mexico since the days of King Philip II (of Spain), and with squared ends, as here, on gold since Charles II. On the silver issues the quarters of the cross were always

occupied with alternating castles and lions; on the gold each quarter of the squared cross contained a fleur-de-lys. The Tubac cross therefore represents a mixture of types. But in addition the lions are suppressed, their place taken by the initials V and K. The former does not allow of any certain interpretation. However certain gold bars attributed to the mint at México and the reign of Philip V, and bearing a similar type, have been described as remnants of the King's Fifth, so that the V would abbreviate "fifth" or quinto and reveal as well the purpose of the ingot, a remittance to the crown from the mines. Of the México bars, more below. The letter K on the other hand allows of only one interpretation. The letter K is not in use in the Spanish alphabet, and was not in the eighteenth century, but it would have been known and used in the area of Tubac ca. 1707 in one specific context, namely as the initial of the great Jesuit missionary who held the cure of souls in that area at that time, Father Eusebio Kino. This is also implied in the encyclopaedia caption: that one of the legendary Jesuit mines of the Southwest, no doubt near Tubac, produced the gold, and it is guaranteed by the initial of the Jesuit father charged with overseeing the religious and a good many of the secular affairs of what is now Arizona. The initial K falls in that quarter of the cross where fall the assayers' initials on the aforementioned ingots of Philip V. The analogy suggests several possibilities as to the relation of Kino to the extraction or assaying of the gold, to its verification and authorization, and to its modest place in the royal system of taxation. But the ingot reveals nothing more than the involvement of Kino at some point for some purpose, and there is no other documentation.

There is however another mode of approach to this problem, through the career of Kino himself.[3] Born at Trent in 1644, educated

to the priesthood, he was sent to Mexico in 1681 and from 1687 made his headquarters in Nueva Viscaya at his mission of Dolores. His pastoral obligations toward a sparse and widely scattered populace combined happily with a tremendous curiosity about this vast and little known area of New Spain. As a result he not only travelled widely, but fortunately preserved much of his experience in writing. Among other areas which he visited repeatedly, he travelled the Santa Cruz River valley at least nine times to San Xavier del Bac, near Tucson, and even more frequently to the other two Arizona missions closer to Dolores, namely San Cayetano de Tumacácori and Guevavi. These journeys ceased after 1702,[4] partly because Kino's geographical interests were engaged by the lands to the west and the question, whether California was a peninsula or an island. From 1702 to the end of his life in 1711 Kino never again travelled the Santa Cruz River, so that he cannot have been in Tubac in 1707 to sign the ingot. Nonetheless one could posit that his overriding authority in the region accounted for his authorization of the piece.

But the problem is rather more difficult than that, and must be viewed in terms of the history of Tubac itself.[5] The most significant eighteenth century date is 1752, the year in which a Spanish garrison was established at Tubac in response to the bloody Pima uprising of 1751. From that day to this Tubac has existed in some form, though not by any means continuously inhabited. Its most lively period was to begin in 1856 in the boom which followed the discovery of silver by the Sonora Exploring and Mining Company. But what of the settlement before the Spaish garrison? Bancroft knew of nothing before 1752.[6] There are however indications of a village on the site earlier, references to inhabitants in the marriage and baptismal records of Guevavi, of which Tubac was

a visita. The earliest of these, cited by Bents, date to 1740 and 1741.[7] Kessell has discovered one still earlier reference:

> During Holy Week of 1726, Father Campos on his way to the Gila paused to christen twenty-five natives at Tumacácori before a gathering of their kin. Just north of San Cayetano at a pleasant place on the river the Padre and his following took a siesta. Here, because another baby was brought forward for baptism, Father Campos recorded the name of the rancheria, perhaps for the first time. Tubac, it was called.[8]

There is no earlier record. Rather, there is solid negative evidence. Father Kino wrote voluminous accounts of his travelling ministry and many of these have survived. One, the largest, suffices to form the bulk of Bolton's two volume work.[9] He not only recorded the sequence of his labors in meticulous detail, but added geographical and ethnographic data. His interest was more than curious: charged with the care of a barely Christian population in circumstances as difficult spiritually as geographically, he could never relax his concern. Thus through the years of repeated journeying through the valley of the Santa Cruz he would record his familiar progress from Guevavi to Tumacácori to Bac, and back again, preserving an account of both difficulties and success in spreading and encouraging the faith.[10] In all of this he made not one single mention of Tubac. He traversed this area again and again, visiting and noting the smallest settlements; as Bents remarks, "Kino must have trod upon the very soil on which the garrison was later to become situated." Yet Tubac was unknown to him. In fact we have Kino's own map of the area, published in 1705.[11] It shows the Santa Cruz clearly enough, with Guevavi, San Cayetano (del Tumacácori) and San Xavier del Bac as well as a number of rancherías, but there is not a hint of Tubac. The evidence is therefore certain: in Kino's time in the area Tubac did not exist.

The ingot therefore cannot be accepted, and for other reasons as well. It is said to have been "issued by the Jesuits", deriving no doubt from their legendary mines. But the adjective is well put, for the mines are nothing but legend, they never existed. The fabulous wealth of the (lost) Jesuit mines is one of the oldest chestnuts of Southwest history, and should have been snuffed out already in the last century when Bancroft wrote of the "popular but wholly unfounded traditions ... of rich mines worked by the Jesuits."[12] Again, Kino makes no reference to mining in the area of Tubac, where he could have claimed spectacular success if the ingot were to be believed; nor to mining by himself or his Jesuit colleagues. Further the area was sparcely populated, and such inhabitants as there were lived in simple poverty. In all of Arizona "there was no Spanish occupation beyond a narrow region of the Santa Cruz valley, and even there only two missions, Bac and Guevavi, with a few rancherías de visita, under resident padres from 1732, or possibly 1720, and protected in their precarious existence by the Tubac presidio from 1752....The Arizona missions were never more than two, and they were never prosperous. So, also, the rich mines and prosperous haciendas, with which the country is pictured as having been dotted, are purely imaginary, resting only on vague traditions ... and on the well-known mineral wealth of later times."[13]

Kessell reports two inventories taken at Guevavi, the first in 1761 on the transfer of the mission from Father Gerstner to his successor, Father Pfefferkorn.[14] The amount of money, or at least of metal on hand totalled 82 pesos in gold -- the equivalent of five coins of eight escudos and one of one escudo -- and 61 pesos in silver. And this was an extravagance of wealth compared to that listed in the inventory of 1767 when the Guevavi mission had 21

pesos 6 reales in "reales" -- i.e. in coined money? --, 2 pesos 5 reales in gold, and 11 pesos 4 reales in silver, while neither Tumacácori nor San Xavier del Bac were credited with any money at all.

Thus the Tubac ingot is false, and has no historical meaning or value. It is the construction of a counterfeiter of our own day who has produced a pastiche of historical and numismatic detail which does not make sense. Historically, he has created an ingot from an area which did not have the mines to produce the metal, from a town which in Father Kino's experience did not exist, with a hint of Jesuit involvement -- the initial K and the Latin cross -- deriving from empty legends about the supposed wealth of the members of ~~that~~ order in Arizona. Numismatically, he has used an obverse type which in the Mexican context is an unparalleled and indeed undefensible mixture of two types which had plainly been kept distinct between the gold and the silver. In fact the real parallel is found on the late seventeenth and eighteenth century gold coinage of Lima, where the square-end Jerusalem cross does occur as here, with castles in the first and fourth quarters, and within a dotted border. That the gold coinage of South America should even have been known in Arizona, much less that it rather than the current Mexican should have been copied there, defies credulity. But in any case the Tubac types differs from both the Mexican and Peruvian, and from all other colonial issues bearing the Jerusalem cross, in that the second and third quarters are taken up not with lions but with the initials, V and K. There is only one parallel to this form, on some of the gold bars attributed to Philip V, where a punch of very similar design shows the squared cross within dotted or dot-and-dash border, the four quarters of the cross being occupied not by alternating castles and lions but by castle - V - MF - castle. The initials MF

first appears in the 18th century

are appropriate for the assayers at the México mint during the period to which the bars are dated, 1741-1743, and they provide an apparent justification for reading the K of the Tubac ingot as abbreviating the name of Kino and indicating his official responsibility for the piece. But there are two insuperable difficulties to taking this parallel seriously at all. (1) The Tubac ingot is dated 1707, the México bars to the 1740's. Therefore the Tubac piece cannot have been imitated from them, but they from it. Such nonsense is not worth further comment. (2) The bars which provide the parallel are in any case completely false, mid-twentieth fabrications. No genuine Mexican ingots of Philip V exist at all. I argue this case at great length elsewhere, and refer the reader there if he wishes to pursue the point.[17] Thus the Tubac ingot, far from being rendered more plausible by the analogy of the bars, is rather yet again shown to be false.

There is nonetheless an analogy between the two bodies of material, which implies that both the ingot and the bars derive from the same counterfeiter. The context in which the ingot made its only public appearance further suggests that such is the case, even if one cannot independently place and date its manufacture for want of evidence. The Tubac ingot was unknown before its illustration in the Encyclopaedia Britannica in 1965, where it appeared "by courtesy of Ford Numismatic Publications," the creation of a New York dealer in coins, Mr. John J. Ford Jr. Adjacent to the ingot on the same encyclopaedia plate is a fair representative of the abovementioned counterfeit bars, there described as "issued under the reign of Philip V....Minted in Mexico City and dated [illegible]." Most of the bars of this type passed through Mr. Ford's hands, as he informed me. Also on the plate are illustrated two U.S. Assay ~~bars~~ pieces of $50 and $200 denomination, said to have been issued in San Francisco in 1853. These lie beyond my

expertise, but are believed by some who work in the field to be equally false. One hopes that a definitive publication will settle that point in the near future.

It is curious, and perhaps not a coincidence, that both the Tubac ingot and the México bars are forgeries dated to the early eighteenth century. That was an elegant and exciting age, and the age in which the history of our own Southwest began to assume a form. Nor are these the only forgeries to have been fathered on the unfortunate Philip V. The last century saw the fabrication of the infamous Peralta claim, allegedly deriving from a benefaction of the same emperor, which agitated the states of Arizona and New Mexico for more than a decade in the 1880's and '90's. Interesting all, though ultimately wasteful of others' time and money, all three can now be safely laid to rest as historical nullities.

NOTES

1. John L. Kessell, Mission of Sorrows: Jesuit Guevari and the Pimas, 1691-1767 (Tucson, 1970), p. 51.

2. A certain confusion appears on some modern maps. H. H. Bancroft, History of Arizona and New Mexico (San Francisco, 1889; repr. Albuquerque, 1962), correctly places Tubac west of the river on the maps which form the end-papers of his volume, but to the east of the river on pp. 384 and 609. These last are sitings not of the village or garrison, but apparently of the station of the same name on the Southern Pacific railroad.

3. Herbert E. Bolton, Rim of Christendom: A Biography of Eusebio Francisco Kino (New York, 1936).

4. Kessell, p. 32.

5. Doris W. Bents, The History of Tubac, 1752-1948 (M.A. Thesis, University of Arizona, 1949).

6. P. 382.

7. P. 11.

8. P. 39.

9. Herbert E. Bolton, Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimeria Alta, 1683-1711, 2 vols. (Cleveland, 1919). See also Fay Jackson Smith, John L. Kessell, and Francis J. Fox, S.J., Father Kino in Arizona (Phoenix, 1966), the account of one trip of twentyseven days, Sept. 22 - Oct. 18, 1698.

10. Drawing on Kino's accounts Bolton has mapped the numerous journeys which he took from his mission at Dolores (Memoir, vol. II, facing p. 232).

11. Reproduced as the frontispiece of Bolton, Mansin, vol. I.

12. P. 362.

13. Pp. 373-74; cf. pp. 399-400.

14. P. 200.

15. P. 183 note 78.

16. Humberto F. Burzio, Diccionario de la moneda Hispanoamericana (Santiago de Chile, 1956-58), vol. I, p.106; plate xxxix no. 256, etc.

17. "False Mexican Colonial Gold Bars", to appear in American Numismatic Society Museum Notes.

18. Donald M. Powell, The Peralta Grant (Norman, Oklahoma, 1960); E. H. Cookridge, The Baron of Arizona (New York, 1967).

(1)

Suggestion to improve draft

The Tubac Ingot

p. 1 state that the piece has not been examined - only the illustration

p 1 line 14-15 strike out "but that is not certain"

p 1 line 16 "on" instead of "of"

p 1 line 18 courtesy

p 2 line 7 strike out "burned in" and insert "on"

p 2 line 8 , moreover,

p 2 line 17 forty-five

p 2 line 18 "today is" instead of "is today"

p 2 line 19 strike also

p 2 line 28 King Philip II of Spain (dates of reign)

p 2 line 29 insert "coins" after silver

p 3 line 8 "might" for "would"

p 3 line 2 Is the fleur de lys on all gold?

p 3 line 11 Repeat "letter K"

p 3 line 12 "during" for "in"

p 3 line 13 "could" for "would"

p 3 line 14 "namely" could be inserted after context,

p 3 line 16 "there is also implied" instead of "this is implied"

p 3 line 16 insert that after caption

p 3 line 18 was verified in place of is guaranteed

p 3 line 19 strike "a good".

p 4 line 15 verify for "sign"

p 4 line 22 "the present site of" in place of "this"

p 4 line 23 "was it" after means

p 4 line 28 "such "before" references" "being found" after Tubac

(2)

p 5 line 22 "successes"
p 5 line 31 "therefore" after "is" "time in the area" instead of "day"
p 6 line 1 "as bonafide" after "accepted"
p 6 line 7-8 strike "to be" & replace with "from local ore"; nor
~~p 6 line 8~~ to mining by himself, his Jesuit colleagues or anyone else.
p 6 line 9 sparsely
p 6 line 14 "after" instead of "from"
p 7 line 5 dont use counterfeiter use forger
p 7 line 10-11 involvement by using the initial K and the Latin cross- and by reviving empty legends
p 7 line 11-12 "the Jesuit order" in place of "that"
p 7 line 13 indefensible
p 7 line 15 strike "the" and add "coinage" after "silver"
p 7 line 18-22 this is too speculative and not important. I suggest striking the entire sentence
p 7 line 22 strike But
p 7 line 26 add "that found" after form,
p 7 line 27 add ~~recently revealed~~ (first appearing in the twentieth century)
p 8 line 7 "date in" instead of to
p 8 line 11 eliminate comma
p 8 line 12 In fact no genuine
p 8 line 13 strike this sentence the footnote could move up to the prior sentence
p 8 line 15-16 analogy to the bars, is again shown to be in the company of other forgeries
p 8 line 19 forger
p 8 line 24 "a business operation" instead of "the creation"
p 8 line 26 strike "fair" and add "illustration" after representative
p 8 line 27. "Mexican bar forgeries" instead of "counterfeit bars"
p 8 line 28-29 "Mr. Ford informed me that most of the bars of this type passed through his hands." instead of present the sentence
p 8 line 30 add "alleged" after "two" and change "bars" to "pieces".
p 9 line 1 Modesty needed — change expertise to experience

(3)

p. 9 line 1 It is suggested that something be put in such as:

An 1853 gold U. S. Assay gold coin with its obverse from the same basic die as is on the U. S. Assay bar and coin in the Encyclopaedia plate was the subject of a hearing before an arbitration panel of the Professional Numismatists Guild about five years ago. The genuineness of the coin was challenged but the arbitrators did not pass on that point. They uninamously agreed, however, that the seller should refund the full purchase price to the buyer because the coin was not a proof piece as asserted. This decision had to be enforced by the Circuit Court of Cook County, Illinois. It is hoped that the Guild or the arbitration panel will release its records as the hearings were open to the public. In any event it is hoped in the near future that there will be a definitive publication to settle the genuineness or falsity of the coin involved as well as the bar and coin on the Encyclopaedia plate and other items related to or from the same source as any of them.

p. 9 line 5 "as issued in" instead of "to"
p 9 line 7 American instead of "our own"
p 9 line 9 nineteenth instead of last
p 9 line 14 people's instead of others'
p 9 line 15 strike he strike "said to" insert "together" after "rest"

Comr

FRIED, FRANK, HARRIS, SHRIVER & JACOBSON
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April 17, 1975

1901-1

Mr. N. Neil Harris
Editor
The Numismatist
P. O. Box 2366
Colorado Springs, Colo. 80901

Dear Mr. Harris:

Please be advised that we represent John Jay Ford, Jr., of Rockville Centre, New York, and are writing this letter on behalf of our client. Mr. Ford has turned over to us your letter of April 10, 1975, with the enclosed xerox copy of an article by T.V. Buttrey which you plan to publish in the June issue of The Numismatist. In addition to the fact that this article contains misstatements, we find it to be libellous and even malicious insofar as our client is concerned. In the event that you decide to publish this article, our client will have no alternative other than to commence legal proceedings against your publication as well as Mr. Buttrey.

Very truly yours,

FRIED, FRANK, HARRIS,
SHRIVER & JACOBSON

By_____
Laurence Rosenthal

LR:noc

cc: Mr. T.V. Buttrey
Mrs. John Culver
Mr. Edward C. Rochette
Mr. John J. Ford, Jr.

Clare Hall
Cambridge
England

April 30, 1975

Mr. Dwight Remarchal
Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson
[illegible] Broadway
New York City

Dear Mr. Remarchal,

Thank you for sending me a copy of your letter of April 17 to Mr. N. Neil Harris concerning an article which I had submitted to the Numismatist. The copy was forwarded to me here.

I regret it if anyone is unhappy over the article. It was written to analyze and discuss numismatic material, not to cause grief. Your letter is not specific on any point, so my response will have to cover the whole article.

Mr. Ford is mentioned in the article three times.

1) P.1. The citation is actually of Ford Numismatic Publications, which repeats the acknowledgement on the Encyclopaedia Britannica plate. This is simply a matter of record which I have copied from EB. It is of course customary to cite the sources of the material which one discusses, and it is especially important when the reader cannot find the material elsewhere.

2) Footnote 20. The last sentence is intended to indicate to the reader why it is that my argument, which I think is persuasive, does not include consideration of possible counter arguments in support of the ingot's authenticity. It is because Mr. Ford has not put them forth. I wish that he had, I hope that he still will. Indeed I hope that you will pass this suggestion on to him, that we attack the problem together in a joint article or that at least he find a spare moment to jot down his responses to the questions raised by Mr. Cook so that we will have the benefit of them.

I hope that the last sentence of the footnote was not construed so as to elicit an implied suggestion on my part that Mr. Ford was ducking. It is simply a matter of fact that I can't deal with his possible counter arguments because I don't have them, and I state this in defence of myself against a reader who might complain that I have not covered the question fully. Mr. Ford has not answered Mr. Cook's letter, but I don't know the reason and do not mean to imply any. It may be that his desk, like mine, is heaped with work to do, and that letters to him, like letters to me, are often considered late or not at all. In any case, if the manner in which this fact is stated offends in any way, just indicate how you would like it to be reworded.

3) P.2. The first paragraph [illegible] to tie in the [illegible] ingot [illegible] other material which, I [illegible], is [illegible] also. The references to Mr. Ford are [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

dialogue would be slow and stilted. Therefore let me just cut the Gordian knot and delete the paragraph. It was intended to give the reader a wider view by putting the Tubac ingot in a larger context, but it doesn't bear on my reading of the ingot one way or the other, and I don't mind [illegible] dropping it. In that case [illegible] I would make a minor addition to p.1, for clarity,

[illegible] "...Ford Numismatic Publications".

[illegible] operated by Mr. John J. Ford, Jr., a New York dealer in coins.

In sum, the references to Mr. Ford are, on p.1, simply a matter of record, in footnote 2 the same thing (at least in my intent), and on p.8 excisable. I hope that this response will meet your objections, or if not that you will state them specifically and indicate how they might be met. I am sure that neither you nor Mr. Ford wishes to squelch publication of anything, and indeed for numismatists it is to everyone's advantage to encourage discussion of forgeries at a time when they threaten our material very seriously. Mr. Ford himself has published on this subject in the past. If you or he can contribute to the present discussion, so much the better for us all. Your letter, if you will permit me to say so, struck me as enthusiastic over-kill; I hope that in coöperation we can all contribute to meeting the larger problem rather than irritate each other.

In that regard, you also refer in your letter to misstatements in the article. It has been carefully researched, and indeed has been checked by several experts in Southwestern history, none of whom found this fault. But we all make mistakes, and scholars are especially urgent to have them corrected. Please therefore send me a list of the misstatements in the article so that I might emend accordingly. I will of course give full and grateful acknowledgement of your contribution and Mr. Ford's.

I hope that these suggestions meet with your approval, namely: leave p.1 as is with the addition of explanation of Ford Numismatic Publications, delete paragraph 1 on p.8, and leave the last sentence of footnote 20 unless you would like it reworded. Since the article is well on toward publication I really must ask a fairly prompt response; if I don't hear from you within a couple of weeks I will assume that your objections have been met.

Thanks for your patience. When you communicate with Mr. Ford please pass on my apologies for not having sent him a copy of this letter -- I don't have his address with me. In any case I look forward to hearing from you or him or both of you in the near future, and to receiving the list of misstatements.

Yours sincerely,

T. V. Buttrey

Prof. T. V. Buttrey

cc: Mr. N. Neil Harris

Clare Hall, Cambridge

April [illegible], 197[illegible]

Eric

The enclosed for your amusement. Harris, wishing to illustrate the Tuesday [illegible] (having finally decided to publish the article), and finding that Ford held the copyright of the illustration in Encycl.Brit., requested permission to use said photo and accompanied his request by a copy of the article! Sunetu simplicitas! The result is the letter from Rosenthal of which I enclose a copy.

I also enclose my response which I am sending off as a jeu d'esprit, and out of curiosity as to the kind of response it will elicit. I don't care to fight this out in the US any more if the XXXXXX Boletín is going to publish the issue in Mexico anyhow. I'd rather it were done by the Numismatics, but what the hell.

Poor Harris. I shall write a consoling note.

Meanwhile I gather the Gold Bar Shoux Exposé has hit the stands -- Jacques Goodman in Amsterdam tells me a copy came in there, -- but I still haven't seen it myself. No matter. Trying to get the Sardis excavation finally off my neck before I return to teach at T.Mich. this summer, and that's quite enough worry.

Best,

[illegible]

MEMORANDUM

August 22, 1975

TO : J. Scoutt, Jr.

FROM: MOCA

RE : T. V. Buttrey's article "The Tubac Ingot"

You will recall that on July 22, T. V. Buttrey wrote us asking whether or not the captioned article was libelous and whether or not a letter written about the article to Buttrey's publisher threatening a suit for libel against the publisher and Buttrey personally was a libel on himself.

First, "The Tubac Ingot." You will note in your copy of Buttrey's article that on page 6 Buttrey alleges that the "Tubac ingot is false. . . . the construction of a forger of our own day . . . ." At page 7 he alludes to Mexican bars, which are related to the Tubac ingot and says they "are in any case completely false . . . ." At page 8 he delivers a final blow, stating "There is nonetheless an analogy between the two bodies of material, which implies that both the ingot and the bars derive from the same forger." Both, he says, appeared in an illustration in Encyclopaedia Britannica in 1965 "by courtesy of Ford Numismatic Publications," noting that other items which appear on the same plate in Britannica with the Mexican bars and the Tubac ingot are thought by some "to be equally false". Buttrey identifies Ford Numismatic Publications as "a business operation of a New York dealer in coins, Mr. John J. Ford, Jr." Finally, Buttrey notes that most of the Mexican bars "passed through Mr. Ford's hands, as he has informed me."

Are T. V. Buttrey's words in "The Tubac Ingot" libelous? Yes they are. They tend to lower the estimation of John J. Ford in the eyes of his associates. Furthermore, they are libelous per se in that they impute the commission of a crime or, at the very least, tend to injure Ford in his business. Per se libel merely relieves the individual libeled from having to prove actual damages by virtue of the statements made. Restatement of Torts, § 570.

These remarks cannot be saved from being libelous by couching them in phrases like "it is alleged" or "I believe," for in a case such as this, these hedges have been found to amount to a direct charge impugning an individual in his business and not capable of changing the legal implications of the statements. Restatement of Torts, §§ 566, 567. However, if Buttrey were to express his belief

as a difference of opinion between two numismatists, omitting the notion of forgery, it is possible that the same information could be conveyed in a manner that would not be libelous. For example, Buttrey could say "John Ford must think this ingot to be genuine, for he has seen it and examined it and advertised it. I think it is false." Bogash v. Elkins, 405 Pa. 437, 176 A.2d 677 ( ).

Given that the remarks made about John Ford are libelous, are they actionable? Before any libelous remark can be actionable, it must be published to third parties. When the magazine that would contain this article would go into circulation, the libel would be published and would become actionable. In addition, the statute of limitations would toll and venue would set. Restatement of Torts, § 577. In the State of New York venue can lie in the county in which the plaintiff who alleges libel resides as long as the libel is published in that county. Clinton v. Croswell, 2 Caines (NY) 245. Presumably, then, Ford would bring a cause of action of libel in his own state. The New York State statute of limitations sets a one-year life on a cause of action for intentional torts such as libel. Time runs from the date of first publication. New York State Statutes, CPLR § 215.

Were these libelous words to become actionable, could T. V. Buttrey defend himself in a suit for damages? Yes he could, if he is right. The proof of the truth of defamatory words used in a libelous statement is a complete defense to an action for libel. Iasigi v. Brown, 17 How (U.S.) 183 ( ); Sidis v. F-R Publishing Co., (CA 2 NY) 113 F.2d 806, cert. denied 311 U.S. 711 ( ). The truth of statements must be strictly proved. Abell v. Cornwall Industrial Corp., 241 NY 327, 150 N.E. 132. That a defendant in a libel action believed the statements he made to be true is no defense, although such belief may be shown in mitigation of damages Holmes v. Jones, 147 NY 59, 41 N.E. 409 ( ). The determination as to the truth of statements made is a jury question and, in deciding the question, a jury may draw reasonable conclusions from evidence introduced. (In other words, there is no "beyond a reasonable doubt" test.) Brayton v. Crowell-Collier Publishing Co., (CA 2 NY) 205 F.2d 644 ( ). If Buttrey can prove that the Tubac ingot and Mexican bars are falsifications and if he can prove that the forger is John Ford or that Ford was complicit in the forgery, he may feel reasonably certain of being able to adequately defend against an action for libel.

A second defense to an action for libel may be appropriate in this case because of the nature of the discussion. The true statement that the Tubac ingot, an item of public interest, is a falsification may be

fair comment on a matter of general interest and not actionable libel. However, any statement which would attempt to identify the forger, insofar as that forger is a person whose trade or business is at stake, is not protected by this fair comment rule. Such statements about an individual are still libel per se and are actionable regardless of the subject matter of the comment. Foley v. Press Publishing Co., 226 App. Div. 535, 235 NYS 340 ( ); Restatement of Torts, § 609.

Artists, and perhaps numismatists, by their advertising of their products or finds, directly challenge public criticism of their claims. Such criticism, then, becomes susceptible to the fair comment defense. Battersby v. Collier, 34 App. Div. 345, 54 NYS 363. One who procures the publication of an article praising an item subjects himself to criticism of that item which is fair comment if it is without malice. This kind of argument in the public forum has been sanctioned in several instances in the State of New York. Thompson v. Matthisen, 150 App. Div. 739, 135 NYS 796. Proof of actual malice, that is ill will or bad feeling, will remove this defense of fair comment. Crowell-Collier Publishing Company v. Caldwell, (CA 5 Fla.) 170 F.2d 941. Whether or not the fair comment defense exists is a court determined question. Restatement of Torts, § 618(1).[1/]

By way of summary, T. V. Buttrey has written a libelous article about John J. Ford. If he rewrote the article to direct his criticism solely to the authenticity of the ingot and not to John Ford, the article either would cease to be libelous at all or would clearly be subject to the fair comment defense. However, if Buttrey chooses to go after the ingot and John Ford and gets his article published, Ford will have a good case for libel per se, unless of course Buttrey can prove the truth of the statements which he makes about the Tubac ingot and about its alleged forger.

1/ There is a separate action at common law in the State of New York for damage resultant from written falsehoods maliciously published and calculated to produce damage to an individual. Such falsehoods must actually produce damage, which must be shown. The malice at stake here is real ill will, not simply malice in law, which is presumed, for example, in a case involving libel per se. Al Raschid v. New Syndicate Company, 265 NY 1, 191 N.E. 713; Gale v. Ryan, 263 App. Div. 76, 31 NYS 2d 732.

The letter which Ford's attorneys wrote about Buttrey could be construed as being libelous. However, that construction would be a much harder case than the one that would take place in a case involving the article which Buttrey wrote about Ford. In any event, the letter has been "published" to a third party, e.g., Buttrey's publisher, and is therefore actionable.

MOCA:kaf

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN 48104

DEPARTMENT OF CLASSICAL STUDIES

December 11, 1975

Dear Eric,

I have been busy out of my mind these past three hundred years, it seems, which is why I am so late in getting the enclosed to you. My non-legal mind has already devised some responses to it, but the more reasonable part of me says, Forget it. I have in fact gone ahead with getting the Tubac Ingot published by the Boletín in Mexico City, and let him sue me there if he wants. (Since he hasn't yet, for the other gold bars, he's not likely to do anything but fume.)

I don't know when that issue of the Boletín will appear; when it does, I guess that ends my part of this adventure, at least for the time being. I don't have any other material on phoney bars lying around, and I have to get back to being a real classicist.

But I do hope that you will push ahead with the American horrors, especially the ones in the Smithsonian. You have made cynical comments about that whole crew, but I have a good epistolary relationship with the director of the Museum of History & Technology, Brooks Hindle, who just wrote me a personal note of thanks for a letter which I provided him for his files. I think you would get strong support there, and I urge you to press on with the Lilleyiana. I can't, it just isn't stuff about which I could be persuasive though my personal internal reactions are as yours. Do go at them.

I'm off to Cambridge just after the first of the year, so it looks as if I won't be able to make the next meeting of Council. See you perhaps this summer.

Best as ever,

L.R.

The notice about the Memorias appeared in Plus Ultra, with a broad suggestion that everyone should buy one from you. Hope you've had some response.

ERIC P. NEWMAN NUMISMATIC EDUCATION SOCIETY

6450 Cecil Avenue, St. Louis 5, Missouri

December 17, 1975

Dr. Theodore Buttrey
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104

Dear Ted:

Thank you for sending me the interesting opinion on libel. It is sound and I feel that you can forget about doing anything for the present.

I have not had one request for the Bar article recently. All of a sudden everyone will want one. The publication of Tubac will help sell it.

Just to show you I am not idle, I wrote a letter to the ANACS which is enclosed. I want to open up the arbitrators' files and here was my chance. Someone submitted two 1853 U. S. Assay Office $20 pieces to the authentication service. I gave my opinion and have some support and some opposing views. Now the fun begins.

Have a great time in England and I'll keep you up to date on anything startling.

Sincerely,

Eric P. Newman

EPN:jah

Encl.

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THROUGH RESEARCH AND EXHIBITION
OF COINS, CURRENCY AND HISTORIC OBJECTS

THE TUBAC INGOT

T. V. Buttrey

The earliest numismatic item which has been published as emanating from what is now the southwestern United States is the Tubac ingot, dated 1707. Whether the piece is unique, I do not know. It, or one example of it, was first published as one of the illustrations to the article "Numismatics" in the Encyclopaedia Britannica vol. 16 on the revision of the plates in 1964, and is currently to be found on plate VI, no. 2. Its types and legends are as follows:

obverse Jerusalem cross, the four quarters occupied by castle - V - K - castle. Border of dots.

reverse Latin cross /TUBAC/1707 -- the whole within indented oval. (It is unclear whether any letter or device lies beside the cross.)

Circular. Diameter, 43 mm.

I have not handled the ingot myself; from the illustration it appears to be cast. The caption reads, "Gold coin-ingot issued by the Jesuits in 1707 at their Tubac mission in Arizona." Both photograph and caption were provided "by courtesy of Ford Numismatic Publications."

No one has hitherto attempted an explanation of the piece and an evaluation of its importance. The encyclopaedia caption is largely inaccurate. There was no mission at Tubac in 1707; even later in the century it was a visita, a place of calling, for the priests of the mission of Guevavi to the southeast.[1] "Coin-ingot" is not meaningful: the piece carries no mark of weight, fineness or denomination, and it hardly appears the kind of object to have been carefully calibrated. If the illustration is to scale the piece is larger than any gold coin ever struck in Mexico. As to "issued by the Jesuits in 1707 ... at Tubac," see below.

To begin it might be noted that the ingot, a piece of exceeding rarity and large historical interest, was published for the first (and I believe the only) time buried in the plates of an encyclopaedia article, where moreover it is not even mentioned in the text. That can pass as a curiosity, but it is only the first connected with this piece. As to the types, it is convenient to begin with the reverse. The locus of production is given as Tubac, easily identifiable as the Pima Indian village in Sonora, fortified in 1752 by a Spanish garrison. The area passed to the United States by the Gadsden Purchase of 1854, becoming first part of the Territory of New Mexico, finally of Arizona. Tubac stood (and still stands) on the west bank of the Santa Cruz River, approximately forty-five miles south of Tucson, twenty miles north of Nogales and the international boundary.[2] The area is today an Arizona state park. The reverse of the ingot also bears the date 1707, some forty-five years before the establishment of the Spanish garrison, and a cross, specifically the Latin cross with a tall staff and a short, high cross-bar. The form is important since the Latin cross has a particularly ecclesiastical flavor, unlike (for example) the decorative Jerusalem or Maltese cross.

The obverse type is the equilateral Jerusalem cross, a symbol which has no immediate Christological significance, but which had appeared with lobed ends on silver coins of Mexico since the days of Philip II (1556-1598), and with squared ends, as here, on gold since Charles II (1665-1700). On the silver the quarters of the cross were always occupied with alternating castles and lions; on the gold each quarter of the squared cross contained a fleur-de-lys. The Tubac cross therefore represents a mixture of types. But in addition the lions are suppressed, their place taken by the initials V and K. The former does not allow of any certain interpretation. However certain gold bars attributed to the mint at México and the reign of Philip V, and bearing

a similar type, have been described as remnants of the King's Fifth, so that the V would abbreviate "fifth" or quinto and reveal as well the purpose of the ingot, a remittance to the crown from the mines. Of the México bars, more below. The letter K on the other hand allows of only one interpretation. The letter is not used in the Spanish alphabet, and was not during the eighteenth century, but it would have been known and used in the area of Tubac ca. 1707 in one specific context, as the initial of the great Jesuit missionary who held the cure of souls in that area at that time, Father Eusebio Kino. This is implied in the encyclopaedia caption: one of the legendary Jesuit mines of the Southwest, no doubt near Tubac, produced the gold, and it was guaranteed by the initial of the Jesuit father charged with overseeing the religious and many of the secular affairs of what is now Arizona. The initial K falls in that quarter of the cross where fall the assayers' initials on the aforementioned ingots of Philip V. The analogy suggests several possibilities as to the relation of Kino to the extraction or assaying of the gold, to its verification and authorization, and to its modest place in the royal system of taxation. But the ingot reveals nothing more than the involement of Kino at some point for some purpose, and there is no other documentation.

There is however another mode of approach to this problem, through the career of Kino himself.[3] Born at Trent in 1644, educated to the priesthood, he was sent to Mexico in 1681 and from 1687 made his headquarters in Sonora at his mission of Dolores. His pastoral obligations toward a sparse and widely scattered populace combined happily with a tremendous curiosity about this vast and little known area of New Spain. As a result he not only travelled widely, but fortunately preserved much of his experience in writing. Among other areas which he visited repeatedly, he travelled the Santa Cruz River valley at least nine times to San Xavier del Bac, near Tucson, and even more frequently to the two

other Arizona sites closer to Dolores, namely San Cayetano de Tumacácori and the mission at Guevavi. These journeys ceased after 1702,[4] partly because Kino's geographical interests were engaged by the lands to the west and the question, whether California was a peninsula or an island. From 1702 to the end of his life in 1711 Kino never again travelled the Santa Cruz River, so that he cannot have been in Tubac in 1707 to authorize the ingot. Nonetheless one could posit that his overriding authority in the region accounted for the appearance of his initial on the piece.

But the problem is rather more difficult than that, and must be viewed in terms of the history of Tubac itself.[5] The most significant eighteenth century date is 1752, the year in which a Spanish garrison was established at Tubac in response to the bloody Pima unprising of 1751. From that day to this Tubac has existed though it was not by any means continuously inhabited. Its most lively period was to begin in 1856 in the boom which followed the discovery of silver by the Sonora Exploring and Mining Company. But what of the settlement before the Spanish garrison? Bancroft knew of nothing before 1752.[6] There are however indications of a village on the site earlier, references to inhabitants of Tubac in the marriage and baptismal records of Guevavi, of which Tubac was a visita. The earliest of these, cited by Bents, date to 1740 and 1741.[7] Kessell has discovered one still earlier reference:

> During Holy Week of 1726, [Father] Campos on his way to the Gila paused to christen twenty-five natives at Tumacácori before a gathering of their kin. Just north of San Cayetano at a pleasant place on the river the Padre and his following took a siesta. Here, because another baby was brought forward for baptism, Father Campos recorded the name of the ranchería, perhaps for the first time. Tubac, it was called.[8]

There is no earlier record. Rather, there is solid negative evidence. Father Kino wrote voluminous accounts of his travelling ministry and many of these have survived. One, the largest, suffices to form the bulk of Bolton's two volume work.[9] He not only recorded the sequence of his labors in meticulous detail, but added geographical and ethnographic data. His interest was more than curious: charged with the care of a barely Christian population in circumstances as difficult spiritually as geographically, he could never relax his concern. Thus through the years of repeated journeying through the valley of the Santa Cruz he would record his familiar progress from Guevavi to Tumacácori to Bac, and back again, preserving an account of both difficulties and successes in spreading and encouraging the faith.[10] In all of this he made not one single mention of Tubac. He traversed this area again and again, visiting and noting the smallest settlements; as Bents remarks, "Kino must have trod upon the very soil on which the garrison was later to become situated."[11] Yet Tubac was unknown to him. In fact we have Kino's own map of the area, published in 1705.[12] It shows the Santa Cruz clearly enough, with Guevavi, San Cayetano (del Tumacácori) and San Xavier del Bac as well as a number of rancherías, but there is not a hint of Tubac. The evidence is certain: in Kino's day Tubac did not exist.

The ingot therefore cannot be accepted as genuine, and for other reasons as well. It is said to have been "issued by the Jesuits", deriving no doubt from their legendary mines. But the adjective is well put, for the mines <u>are</u> nothing but legend, they never existed. The fabulous wealth of the (lost) Jesuit mines is one of the oldest chestnuts of Southwest history, and should have been snuffed out already in the last century when Bancroft wrote of the "popular but wholly unfounded traditions ... of rich mines worked by the Jesuits."[13] Again, Kino makes no reference to mining in the area of Tubac, where

he could have claimed spectacular success if the ingot were to be believed; nor to mining by himself or his Jesuit colleagues. Further the area was sparsely populated, and such inhabitants as there were lived in simple poverty. In all of Arizona "there was no Spanish occupation beyond a narrow region of the Santa Cruz valley, and even there only two missions, Bac and Guevavi, with a few rancherías de visita, under resident padres from 1732, or possibly 1720, and protected in their precarious existence by the Tubac presidio from 1752.... The Arizona missions were never more than two, and they were never prosperous. So, also, the rich mines and prosperous haciendas, with which the country is pictured as having been dotted, are purely imaginary, resting only on vague traditions ... and on the well-known mineral wealth of later times."[14]

Kessell reports two inventories taken at Guevavi, the first in 1761 on the transfer of the mission from Father Gerstner to his successor, Father Pfefferkorn.[15] The amount of money, or at least of metal on hand, totalled 82 pesos in gold -- the equivalent of five coins of eight escudos and one of one escudo -- and 61 pesos in silver. And this was an extravagance of wealth compared to that listed in the inventory of 1767 when the Guevavi mission had 21 pesos 6 reales in "reales" -- i.e. in coined money? --, 2 pesos 3 reales in gold, and 11 pesos 4 reales in silver, while neither Tumacácori nor San Xavier del Bac were credited with any money at all.[16]

Thus the Tubac ingot is false, and has no historical meaning or value. It is the construction of a forger of our own day who has produced a pastiche of historical and numismatic detail which does not make sense. Historically, he has created an ingot from an area which did not have the mines to produce the metal, from a town which in Father Kino's experience did not exist, with a hint of Jesuit involvement -- the initial K and the Latin cross -- deriving from empty legends

about the supposed wealth of the members of that order in Arizona. Numismatically, he has used an obverse type which in the Mexican context is an unparalleled and indeed indefensible mixture of two types which had plainly been kept distinct between the gold and the silver coinage. In fact the real parallel is found on the late seventeenth and eighteenth century gold coinage of Lima, where the square-end Jerusalem cross does occur as here, with castles in the first and fourth quarters, and within a dotted border.[17] In any case the Tubac types differs from both the Mexican and Peruvian, and from all other colonial issues bearing the Jerusalem cross, in that the second and third quarters are taken up not with lions but with the initials, V and K. There is only one parallel to this form, that found on some of the gold bars attributed to Philip V, where a punch of very similar design shows the squared cross within dotted or dot-and-dash border, the four quarters of the cross being occupied not by alternating castles and lions but by castle - V - MF - castle. The initials MF are appropriate for the assayers at the México mint during the period to which the bars are dated, 1741-1746; and they provide an apparent justification for reading the K of the Tubac ingot as abbreviating the name of Kino and indicating his official responsibility for the piece. But there are two insuperable difficulties to taking this parallel seriously at all. (1) The Tubac ingot is dated 1707, the México bars to the 1740's. Therefore the Tubac piece cannot have been imitated from them, but they from it. Such nonsense is not worth further comment. (2) The bars which provide the parallel are in any case completely false, mid-twentieth fabrications. No genuine Mexican ingots of Philip V exist at all. I argue this case at great length elsewhere, and refer the reader there if he wishes to pursue the point.[18] Thus the Tubac ingot, far from being rendered more plausible by the analogy of the bars, is rather yet again shown to be false.

There is nonetheless an analogy between the two bodies of material, which implies that both the ingot and the bars derive from the same forger. The context in which the ingot made its only public appearance further suggests that such is the case, even if one cannot independently place and date its manufacture for want of evidence. The Tubac ingot was unknown before its illustration in the Encyclopaedia Britannica in 1965, where all the pieces on plate VI appeared "by courtesy of Ford Numismatic Publications." This is a business operation of a New York dealer in coins, Mr. John J. Ford, Jr. Adjacent to the ingot on the same encyclopaedia plate is a representative illustration of the abovementioned forged bars, there described as "issued under the reign of Philip V....Minted in Mexico City and dated 1744." Most of the bars of this type passed through Mr. Ford's hands, as he has informed me. Also on the plate are illustrated two U.S. Assay pieces of $50 and $200 denomination, said to have been issued in San Francisco in 1853. These lie beyond my competence, but are believed by some who work in the field to be equally false. One hopes that a definitive publication will settle that point in the near future.

It is curious, and perhaps not a coincidence, that both the Tubac ingot and the México bars are forgeries appearing to date to the early eighteenth century. That was an elegant and exciting age, and the age in which the history of our own Southwest began to assume a form. Nor are these the only forgeries to have been fathered on the unfortunate Philip V. The nineteenth century saw the fabrication of the infamous Peralta claim, allegedly deriving from a benefaction of the same emperor, which agitated the states of Arizona and New Mexico for more than a decade in the 1880's and '90's.[19] Interesting all, though ultimately wasteful of others' time and money, all three can now be safely laid to rest as historical nullities.[20]

NOTES

1. John L. Kessell, Mission of Sorrows: Jesuit Guevavi and the Pimas, 1691-1767 (Tucson, 1970), p. 51.
2. A certain confusion appears on some modern maps. H. H. Bancroft, History of Arizona and New Mexico (San Francisco, 1889; repr. Albuquerque, 1962), correctly places Tubac west of the river on the maps which form the end-papers of his volume, but to the east of the river on pp. 384 and 609. These last are sitings not of the village or garrison, but apparently of the station of the same name on the Southern Pacific railroad.
3. Herbert E. Bolton, Rim of Christendom: A Biography of Eusebio Francisco Kino (New York, 1936).
4. Kessell, p. 32.
5. Doris W. Bents, The History of Tubac, 1752-1948 (M.A. Thesis, University of Arizona, 1949).
6. P. 382.
7. P. 11.
8. P. 39.
9. Herbert E. Bolton, Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimería Alta, 1683-1711, 2 vols. (Cleveland, 1919). See also Fay Jackson Smith, John L. Kessell, and Francis J. Fox, S.J., Father Kino in Arizona (Phoenix, 1966), the account of one trip of twenty-seven days, Sept. 22 - Oct. 18, 1698.
10. Drawing on Kino's accounts Bolton has mapped the numerous journeys which he took from his mission at Dolores (Memoir, vol. II, facing p. 232).
11. ~~Reproduced as the frontispiece of Bolton, Memoir, vol. I.~~
12. ~~P. 362.~~
13. ~~Pp. 373-74; cf. pp. 399-400.~~
14. ~~P. 200.~~
15. ~~P. 183 note 78.~~
16. ~~Humberto F. Burzio, Diccionario de la moneda hispanoamericana (Santiago de Chile, 1956-58), vol. I, p. 106; plate xxxix no.~~

11. P. 6.

12. Reproduced as the frontispiece of Bolton, Memoir, vol. I.

13. P. 362; cf. Charles W. Polzer, S.J., "Legends of Lost Missions and Mines", in The Smoke Signal, Tucson, Arizona, No. 18 (Fall, 1968), pp. 170-183. Myths have their own history, and Polzer makes the illuminating observation (pp. 182-183) that some of those pertaining to the great lost mines and treasures of the Jesuits were "apparently ... the creation of ... the members and promoters of the Aztec Mining Syndicate of Arizona" in their encouragement of prospective stockholders. The myths however survive, and Polzer's essay is a systematic debunking of the whole congeries of legends still supported by popularizing historians of the Southwest.

14. Bancroft, pp. 373-374; cf. pp. 399-400.

15. P. 200.

16. P. 183 note 78.

17. Humberto F. Burzio, Diccionario de la moneda hispanoamericana (Santiago de Chile, 1956-58), vol. I, p. 106; plate xxxix no. 256, etc.

18. "False Mexican Colonial Gold Bars", to appear in American Numismatic Society Museum Notes.

19. Donald M. Powell, The Peralta Grant (Norman, Oklahoma, 1960); E. H. Cookridge, The Baron of Arizona (New York, 1967).

20. I am gratified to add that early in 1972, unknown to me, the Encyclopaedia Britannica received a letter from Mr. Hollis Cook, Supervisor of Tubac Presidio State Historic Park, who quite independently questioned the Tubac ingot and pointed up some of the difficulties which I have raised above: the date, the allegation that there had been a mission at Tubac, and the obscurity

of the ingot's origin. On April 5, 1972 a copy of Mr. Cook's letter was forwarded to Mr. Ford by the Encyclopaedia, requesting comments on the questions raised therein. If there are counter arguments to support the authenticity of the ingot we remain in ignorance of them; to this date (February 12, 1974) no reply has been received from Mr. Ford.

ERIC P. NEWMAN NUMISMATIC EDUCATION SOCIETY

6450 Cecil Avenue, St. Louis 5, Missouri

March 25, 1977

Mr. Virgil Hancock, President
American Numismatic Association
Box 936
Bellaire, TX 77402

Re: Publication of Tubac Ingot
Article by Ted Buttrey

Dear Virgil:

You will recall that at the ANA Round Table meeting in Colorado Springs on February 28, 1977, I brought up the matter of the ANA not taking any position on the publication of the above article after its submittal by its author and then after a long interval had passed took no action on a request for its return. The article has been held by the ANA for about two years and no answer has been forthcoming. The editor has said he wishes to publish it and the attorney for the ANA has said that he found no legal objection to it. You said that you have had exclusive possession of it for a long time. You indicated that you planned to send it back to the author, but to date the author has received no communication. I fully realize that this is just one of the many things on your mind, but I believe it is important.

Since the article involves the assertion of forgery, there was thinking that you would be the last one to block its publication. Perhaps you might change your view or submit to the Board any problem you may have with respect to publishing it. The question is whether the ANA has a free press for scholarly numismatic studies or not.

Will you please review the matter, take some action on it, and let me know what is done. Thanks.

Kindest personal regards,

Eric

Eric P. Newman

jah

cc: Mr. Neil Harris
Mr. Edward Rochette
Mr. Ted Buttrey

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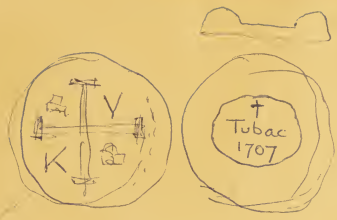

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Kino